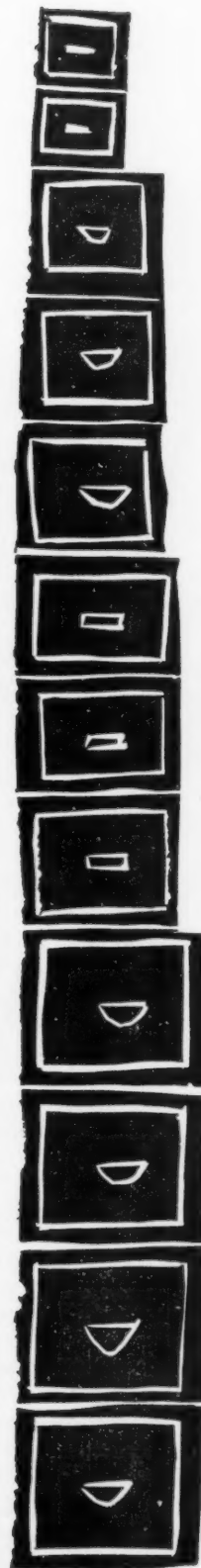
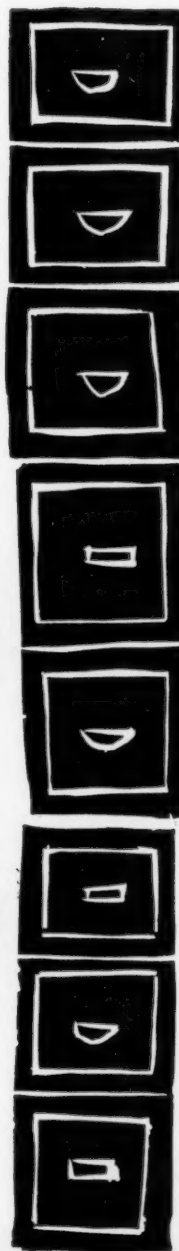
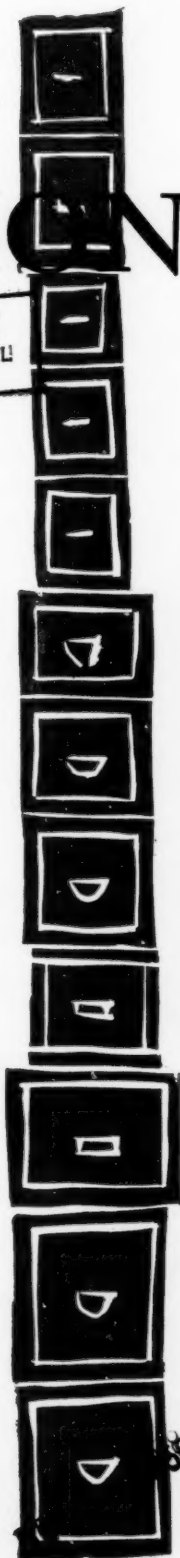
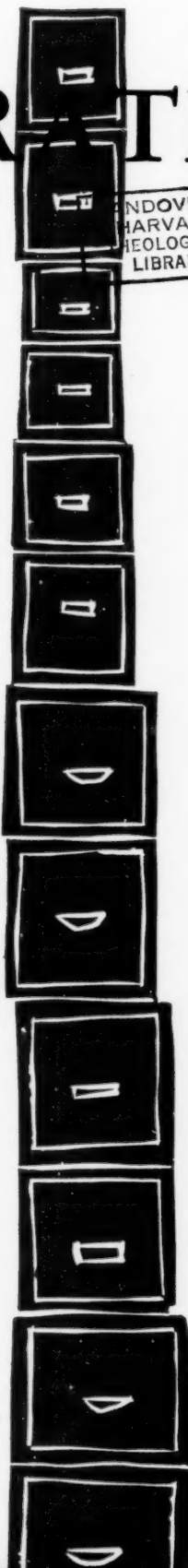
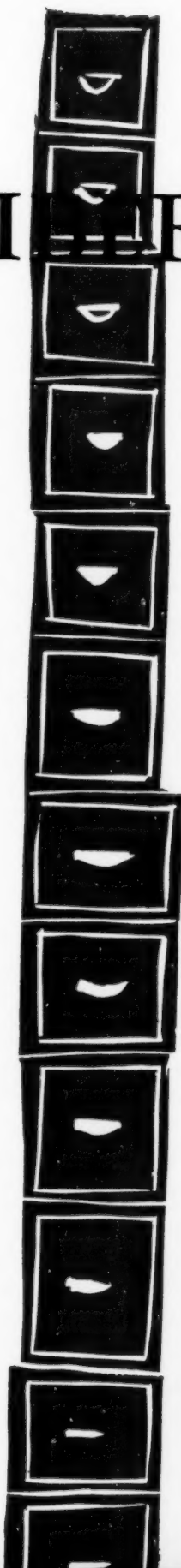
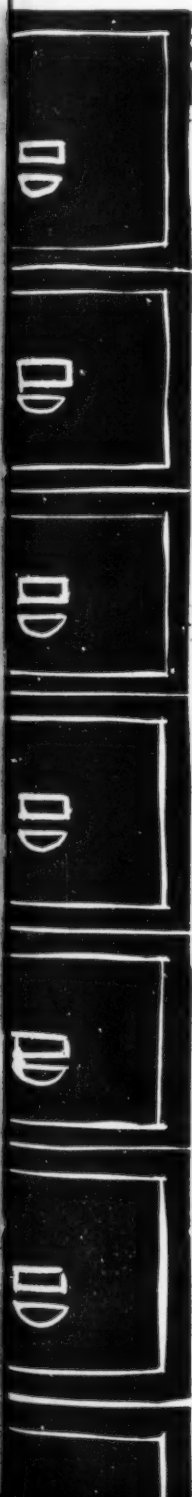


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## CONTENTS

Vol. III, No. 8

### A Prize Blunder

#### Indian Perspective:

1. *Appeal for Sanity*

2. *The Bankruptcy of Socialism*

*The Brave Cowboy (a review)*

*On Nonviolent Obstruction*

*Making the World Safe for Dictatorship*

*Not So Long Ago (Part XII)*

*Sex, Community, and History*

### 3 The Editors

4 *Rajendra Prasad*

6 *Rammanohar Lohia*

9 *Felix Singer*

10 *Bradford Lytle*

12 *Harry Paxton Howard*

15 *A. J. Muste*

18 *Letters*

## In This Issue:

RAJENDRA PRASAD is the President of India. His article is based on an address he gave recently in Tokyo at an international conference against nuclear weapons.

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA is editor of the Indian monthly, *Mankind* (available in the United States from P. O. Box 551, Berkeley, Calif.).

BRADFORD LYTLE is associate secretary of the American Friends Service Committee in Chicago. He took part in the recent direct-action protest against the construction of an I. C. B. M. base in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

HARRY PAXTON HOWARD spent twenty-four years in China and Japan. His article, "China: the Door We Closed" appeared in the August 1956 *LIBERATION*. He is the author of *America's Role in Asia*, one of the few books that accurately described the genesis of the Far Eastern war, and warned that the policies pursued by the American government in 1943 would lead to a "Communist-Fascist China, linked with Moscow in a still more tremendous World Empire"—a prediction that was soon fulfilled. Bertrand Russell said of it: "This is a book you must read. . . It contains . . . the things which are being kept from you." Harry Elmer Barnes,

whose recent *LIBERATION* article on Revisionism stirred up the current controversy, called it "the most valuable and illuminating book on the public affairs and personalities of the Far East which has ever been published."

THE COVER is by Vera Williams

READERS WHO MISSED the July-August issue of *LIBERATION*, which contained the original article on Revisionism by Harry Elmer Barnes, will want to know that it is still available, along with the October issue, which contained comments on the Barnes article by Waldo Frank, William Neumann, Reginald Reynolds and Arnold H. Kamiat. Both issues may be obtained for 50c. A very limited number of complete sets of issues containing installments of A. J. Muste's autobiography up to date are still available, at \$3.00 a set.

NEXT MONTH Milton Mayer will report on how he was besieged at the United States Embassy in Moscow; articles by Sidney Lens and Paul Mattick will explore the underlying causes of the popular uprisings in Hungary and the Middle East; and A. J. Muste will continue his account of the labor-education experiment at Brookwood.

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## a prize blunder

The first comment that has to be made on the way in which the Soviet Writers Union and the Communist youth organization have hounded Boris Pasternak since he was awarded, and joyfully accepted, the Nobel Prize for Literature, is that it furnishes the world with another example of the evil and repulsive fruits of a totalitarian regime. It is tragically reminiscent of the Hitlerian precedent of forbidding Germans to accept Nobel Prizes. It seems to prove that the period of clamping down on democratic and creative tendencies which succeeded the brief but exciting "thaw" in Soviet life a few years ago, is still in effect.

Nevertheless, as details about the various aspects of the situation filter in from many quarters, it becomes clearer each day that it is precisely Pasternak's hold upon many Communist youth and intellectuals in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and the danger that moderation in dealing with him may give the signal for new waves of independence and protest, that account for the extreme pressure and vilification to which the foremost of Russia's living poets is being subjected.

The head of the Polish Writers Union, for example, wired congratulations as soon as the announcement of the awarding of the Nobel Prize was made. The message has not to date been withdrawn, and support for Pasternak is openly expressed in Warsaw by the foremost Polish writers. What is much more important is authoritative information from Stockholm that some of the younger Soviet writers were involved in the process by which the manuscript of *Doctor Zhivago* was brought out of Russia to where it could not be seized or stolen and destroyed by Soviet authorities. Not without significance is the fact that at one point the manuscript was accepted for publication by the Soviet Publishing House, and while the reported decision on expulsion from the Soviet Writers Union was "unanimous", as is the custom in such cases, reports that the debate was "hot" were permitted to go out by the Moscow censor.

Most intriguing in this context is what happened in Italy, as reported by New York Post columnist Murray Kempton. In 1954, during the "thaw" in the Soviet orbit, a pro-Communist Milan publisher named Feltrinelli

wrote Pasternak, asking for the manuscript of *Doctor Zhivago*, eventually got it, and prepared to rush it into print.

It has recently been revealed by Tommaso Chiaretti, until last summer the theater critic of the Italian Communist daily, *Unita*, that in 1956 the Soviet Writers Union asked Feltrinelli to postpone publication, and that he assented. A delegation of Soviet writers, headed by a pro-Stalinist, Surkov, then came to Italy to retrieve the manuscript and to set wavering Communist writers straight. Feltrinelli had in the meantime received two messages from Pasternak, one a telegram asking him to return the manuscript for revision, the other a letter smuggled out of Russia telling him to use his own judgment.

Feltrinelli published the book. The Italians report that Surkov asked the Swedes, if they were bent on awarding the prize to Pasternak, at least to share it with a more orthodox Soviet writer, Mikhail Sholokhov.

From Brussels comes word that an edition of the novel in Russian, also printed in Italy, was sold out to Russian visitors and staff at the Brussels fair, and that many copies are circulating in the Soviet Union.

To provide a balanced picture, we should point out that discrimination against, and vicious persecution of, writers who hold unpopular political opinions, both by governmental and non-governmental forces, are not unknown outside the Soviet Union. They exist even in the United States, where the House Un-American Activities Committee and other agencies have persecuted writers and artists. The New York Post columnist Leonard Lyons recently pointed out that even now there are brilliant writers for the movies who can get their manuscripts sold only when they are offered under assumed names. Last year's Oscar winner has still not been identified. We note also that when Howard Fast left the Communist Party, he suddenly found regular publishers again willing to issue his novels, and got fabulous offers from the big movie producers for books written during the extended period when he was not only a Party member, but a particularly outspoken exponent of the line.

Use is being made of the Pasternak incident by many groups in this

country to fan the flames of the Cold War. Now, as in the past, we disassociate ourselves from all such efforts.

### MORE GOOFMANSHIP

Distribution of 42 million new Civil Defense handbooks by the Boy Scouts to the homes of America began last month. The cuckooland approach of this booklet to the number-one problem of our time is illustrated by the following dialogue with Leo Hoegh, the new Civil Defense Administrator, which took place on a Meet the Press television program:

Q. On decontamination (in the booklet) you have a picture of a woman with a carpet sweeper and a man taking a shower, and the suggestion is made that this can be washed away . . . Is this a realistic thing to give to the American people?

A. (Mr. Hoegh): That is realistic. That's based upon scientific research. If you go outside, you would have the particles upon you. When you go into your home you must remove the particles. If it's on your skin it could burn, constantly irradiate—wash it off.

Q. And if 150 of our big cities were attacked by nuclear weapons, you expect the women of this country to get their carpet sweepers out and the men to take showers?

A. Now remember this, if there are particles blown into the home, pick them up, get them up and do it with a machine, and then, throw it outside after you've done it. But you must not leave the radioactive particles next to you or within the home. That's sound advice to you.

Q. What is the hope for the people of New York City in case there is a nuclear attack the day after tomorrow?

A. I think they have a good opportunity. In other words, the people of New York City are prepared, if there's adequate time, to move. That is, provided they have adequate time.

Q. How much is adequate time?

A. In New York City they would have to have 36 hours.

Q. Is there any chance of getting 36 hours of warning?

A. It would depend entirely on Intelligence. If the Intelligence reports would give you that much time, you'd take advantage of it. It's most likely you'd only have zero to 30 minutes, and therefore you'd have to take the other course of action, take the best available cover.



# INDIAN PERSPECTIVE



## I. Appeal For Sanity

**Rajendra Prasad**

WHEN GANDHI started his work, there was discontent in the country against foreign rule. The British did some good things for the country but good government can never be a substitute for self-government. And so the struggle against foreign rule continued. Methods of constitutional agitation were tried; so were those of violent revolution. But both were found wanting. Gandhi rejected both these methods and substituted for them the method of nonviolent revolution. The pledge which every volunteer who wished to join the movement seriously was required to sign insisted upon nonviolence not only in word and action but also in thought; and it was revolutionary because it aimed at not only changing the rulers but also changing the whole life of the nation. It was also revolutionary because it did not accept wholly, or even mainly, the western standard of modern days but picked and chose from it things which conformed to Gandhi's conception of truth and nonviolence, and rejected those which were irreconcilable with his basic principles.

The abandonment of violence in every form really made the foreign ruler helpless. If violence had been used, he had his means to meet it most effectively and to suppress it. That is why previous violent movements had failed. But when the government found that its violence did not provoke retaliatory violence on the part of the people, it found itself helpless. The people would not obey its laws; they would take such punishment as was inflicted on them for disobeying the laws, but would not submit to orders. No government could imprison, far less shoot down, an entire people. Thus the prestige of the government ebbed away, and the British felt that the time had come when they should make up with the people of the country and leave it in peace.

It is a remarkable story how a people disarmed under

the law and helpless in every way to meet force by force, could win their freedom by the use of the simple but irresistible force of non-violent resistance. It of course required readiness on the part of the people to suffer willingly the consequences of not recognizing the foreign rulers and not obeying their orders or paying their taxes or in any other way helping them. Mahatma Gandhi was at the same time careful that this should not lead to chaos. Only such laws were to be disobeyed as he selected for the purpose on account of their obnoxiousness and their harmful effect on the morals of the people. Other laws, even if they were objectionable, were to be meticulously observed.

Gandhi was arrested and was placed before a court for disobeying an order in 1917. He told the magistrate that he had intentionally disobeyed the order because he had to choose between an order of a magistrate and his own conscience, and that the only thing that the magistrate could do was to inflict the punishment which he considered fit. When he was arrested again, he asked the judge either to resign if he agreed with his point of view or to inflict upon him the highest penalty he could. The British became confused and confounded in the face of a program like this.

Foreigners who visited the country while our movement was at its height marvelled at the discipline which the people showed even under harsh physical treatment while still carrying on the tasks allotted to them by their leader. Military strength was ineffective because there was no one against whom an army could fight. They could only shoot down unarmed people who offered no physical resistance. A foreign writer remarked, and I think correctly, that by disarming his own people, Gandhi had disarmed the British so far as India was concerned.

This in a nutshell is the story of our struggle for freedom and its success in the end. But Gandhi also realized that the country was poor. Disease and illiteracy were rampant. At the same time he saw the evil effects of modern large-scale industrialization. The criterion which he laid down was that which has been laid down by

Nature herself. He held that a man should be able to produce whatever he requires with his own labor, either singly or combined with the labor of others. He need take the help of only such instruments as help in removing his exhaustion and bringing comfort and contentment.

He was not in favor of programs which created their own problems of slums, of physical and psychological exhaustion by repetition and similar difficulties. He therefore thought of small industries which could be done by the people at home and which could keep them employed throughout the year, and which could give employment not only to particular classes of people, but which in their sweep would take all classes of people, even young and old, completely healthy as well as frail people. Working at the spinning wheel and producing fine yarn was therefore not the fad of an imaginative faddist but the practical program of a realist who could see that there were millions and millions in the land who had no work or who only had work for part of the day. It would not only enable them to utilize the time that was wasted, but it would also enable them to save millions of rupees which they then used to send out of the country for purchasing cloth manufactured in other countries. I know that in terms of modern economics it was not possible for the spinning wheel to compete with spinning mills, but it was not a question of competition. It was in a way the same kind of struggle that an unarmed people had to carry on against the might of an armed government.

### Nonviolence Pays Off

It cannot be said after our experience that it is just a vision of a visionary. There should be no difficulty for peoples of the world not only to retain their freedom, but to enrich it if they adopted the same method of nonviolence. From personal experience I can say that our nonviolence has been a most paying proposition for us. We have not only won our freedom, but if I may say so, we have won the hearts of our opponents also, and today the relations between England and India are more friendly than they have ever been before in history.

I can wish nothing more than that this aspect should be studied and looked into. Gandhi used to say that nonviolence is not for the coward but for those who are really and truly brave. An armed man does not depend solely upon himself, but also upon his arms for his safety. The truly nonviolent resister depends upon nothing else except his own strong heart and faith in God: and if nations can realize the strength of this kind of nonviolence, I have no doubt that many of the ills from which we are suffering and the disaster which we are all apprehending will be dispelled as darkness before sunlight.

I confess to a certain feeling of hesitation in placing this high ideal before the world. It was a man like Mahatma Gandhi alone who could have placed it before the world with living faith and carried conviction with others. We humbler folk have neither that stature nor that strength of faith or conviction, and it ill becomes a statesman whose country is still maintaining an armed force. The face of the world will change if any country, even though it be a small country, will disarm itself completely and challenge the world to do its worst against it. It will by so doing disarm the whole world against itself, and if bigger and more powerful nations will adopt it, it will cease to be a troubled world and will become a heaven on earth. When our own people occasionally went mad and created violence, Mahatma Gandhi never despaired but hoped to wean them from violence and make of them brave men and women in the true sense of the word.

I sometimes wonder if some of the other nations will not prove with all their bravery in the wars which they have fought, with all their vast experience of killing and getting killed, and prove sooner than we have been able to do, that they are truly brave in the sense of Mahatma Gandhi by adopting nonviolence as their creed and disarming themselves completely. I can only express the hope that you may prove even better disciples of Gandhi than we are.

With all the failings of man and Nature manifested so often in all parts of the world, I firmly believe that avoidance of aggression and the use of well-intentioned persuasion constitute an approach to human affairs which need not be necessarily limited to individuals or to mere sections of society. I believe these forces are strong and powerful enough to influence the course of human affairs in any walk of life, national or international. It is essentially a matter of belief or faith. Whatever the other resources that science may help man to acquire and however invincible he might make himself before the other forces of nature, it is the flame of faith alone which promises inner happiness and peace outside. If other saints preceding Gandhi applied the principle of faith and universal love mainly to religious life, he himself sought to provide for it a wider basis, including the sphere of politics. Let us hope in the course of time this principle embodied in Mahatma Gandhi's teachings will be applied to the whole sphere of human affairs, including international relationships. Maybe this goal is not easy to achieve; maybe it appears to be distant today; but let there be no doubt that it is the goal which humanity has to reach sooner or later in the interest of its own survival and for vesting human life with the peace and dignity of which all prophets and saints have spoken and of which men in their saner moments so often dream.



## 2. The Bankruptcy of Socialism

Rammanohar Lohia

ON JUNE 14th of this year the general council of the Socialist International passed a three-point resolution on the French situation and the war in Algeria. This resolution expressed the confidence of the International that "the French Socialist Party will succeed in defending democratic liberties under all circumstances". Fourteen days earlier, French Socialists had already in large numbers voted for suspension of parliamentary processes for a period of six months and the grant to a single individual of legislative powers.

It is possible that the European Socialist mind is divided into two sections, sealed off from each other, one of which thinks in terms of abstract concepts of democracy while the other calculates concrete possibilities of democratic behavior.

Before examining the Algerian aspect of the resolution, a note must be made of the expression of solidarity with French democrats in their readiness to "oppose any element that might attempt to impose on the French people constitutions of an undemocratic character". Equivocation has here reached its farthest limits. Even the dumbest observer knew who the undemocratic elements in the current French crisis were. To have named them would have meant to take a stand. A phraseology was therefore brought into use which would lend itself to two meanings. Those Socialists who see in the French crisis an occasion to oppose the remoter, but to them the more insidious, Communist enemy were accommodated as much as Socialists who were willing to fight the imperialist or fascist enemy that was right in front of them.

In its second point, the resolution expressed some pious anxieties over the conflict in Algeria. It condemned all acts of torture, terrorism, intimidation, and the suppression of democratic freedoms in Algeria. This is again a perfect example of an effort to satisfy everybody. The hundred thousand dead among the Algerians and the large scale, mechanized torture practiced on them were equated with the less than five thousand dead Frenchmen. Not a word was said of the urgent need of Algeria's independence.

The third point of the resolution is probably the most characteristic of organized world socialism in its current phase. The International noted with great satisfaction, "the strongly expressed desire and intentions of all sections of the French Socialist Party to maintain its unity in the difficult situation." No other satisfaction is left to organized socialism. Unable to maintain principles or ideals, utterly incapable of positive action

in a difficult situation, traditional socialism can only strive to maintain unity. The urge for unity under all circumstances seems to be the only guiding star of world socialism, because it has lost its soul.

Organized socialism has become an upholder of the *status quo*. It is no doubt a moderate upholder and would like to stick to certain traditional forms of legality and constitutionalism. The *status quo* has, however, given birth to other types of supporters, of a more aggressive type. Some of these aggressive upholders are pure and simple gangsters. Others are thorough-going conservatives, although their desire for legality is on a par with that of organized socialism. Current party politics in Europe becomes easy to understand, once these different shades of moderate, thorough-going, and extreme upholders of the *status quo* are recognized. They quarrel among themselves, and their raucous disputes often obscure the commonality of their endeavor, achieved particularly when a serious enemy presents himself. The Socialist International is a composite gathering of such national socialisms. If, by accident, a more idealistic socialism is present at these gatherings, it may at the most be heard, but it can have no voice in the making of decisions.

Communist behavior during the Gaullist crisis will also bear further scrutiny. Why did not the Communist Party of France summon the people to more active demonstrations and strikes against the double guilt in Algeria and in France? It is possible that the French Communists were afraid. In that case, Communist capacity for action should be considered as limited to occasions when the opponent government wants to keep up a show of legality. It is also possible that the Communist withholding was due, in some measure, to the prospect of De Gaulle's bringing into NATO affairs an element of uneasiness. That would show that international Communism is indignant against evil, so long as Soviet foreign policy is not pursuing other ends.

### Maneuvering at the Top

A note must also be made about M. Mendès-France, who at one time seemed to have given to French politics a positive capacity to act. In the event, that was proved to have been a surface phenomenon. It cannot be otherwise. When men's minds have become rigid through the experience of several decades, no solution is possible save that of long and patient pursuit of principle involving sacrifice of self. Not through maneuvering at the top, not even the subtlest and most refined maneuvering, but only through change of opinion of the great mass of people, not alone topical but also fundamental opinions, would such a solution be possible.

The chronological process through which socialism lost its soul would be difficult to define. The desire to achieve revolutionary changes is certainly strong in

the early stages. So is the desire for power. Frustration arising out of inability to capture power or accomplish the revolution and consequent willingness to seek accommodation with other forces and attitudes is a link in the process. Departure from principle as a result of such accommodation is another link. Continual departures from principle breed the habit of absence of policy and that constitutes still another link. The desire for power becomes the urge for office. The search for an occasional compromise becomes the neurotic policy of constantly relying on crutches provided by other parties.

Such a socialism is doomed to extinction, to be swallowed up by capitalism or by Communism, the two substantive forces of the day. Only if socialism should isolate its sound seed and nurture it with care over decades, would there be some hope of its ultimate victory. Socialists, at least those who believe in equality in the sense of concrete equalization of incomes, both within the nation and internationally between the developed and underdeveloped countries, a world parliament and civil disobedience, must split from the traditional socialist parties and begin their own principled existence.

One might have expected Asian socialists to pursue a revolutionary line in regard to native as well as foreign affairs, to persevere in the midst of seeming defeats, and not to lose their souls in search of expediency and office. They did not have to carry the burdens of an imperialist heritage. Nor were they like the tired third-generation socialists of Europe. And yet they have proved to be worse than the European socialists.

The traditional socialist parties of Burma, Indonesia, and India (where the party is called Praja Socialist) have conclusively proved by their behavior over the past few years that in the matter of foreign policy they deserve the trust of their peoples even less than do the governments of these countries. Should any of these parties ever come to power in its land, it will lead its people to closer alignment with the Atlantic camp than has been possible under Nehru, Nu and Soekarno. That is not to say that these three gentlemen have pursued foreign policies of independence. They have merely stumbled from one situation to another and, as they were not obsessed by any second-hand doctrines and as they were men of greater arrogance and self-respect than the traditional socialists of their lands, they found it impossible to attach themselves permanently to one or the other world camp. They have alternated between serving the Communist and the Atlantic camps but have not accepted slavery to either.

The Socialist leadership of these lands, however, has chosen to be a full-time adherent of the Atlantic camp, not always militarily but ideologically. Three other ways lay open before it: to be pro-Soviet, to toe the government line *in toto*, or to evolve a foreign policy of revolu-

tion. It could not be pro-Soviet because of its doctrinal obsessions. For the same reason, and also because of the agitational need to differ from the government, the Socialist leadership has not wholly approved of the policy of alternate service or the policy of non-alignment, as it is mistakenly called.

A meeting of the bureau of the Asian Socialist conference held in the year 1954 exposed the feet of clay of Asian socialists. Three issues came up before the bureau: 1) the American attempt to set up a SEATO organization in South Asia on the lines of the NATO in Europe; 2) French and British repression in Africa, particularly in Algeria and Kenya, which raised the question of an all-Asian boycott of imperialist goods; 3) if Asian socialists did not wish to reform the United Nations Charter so as to change it into a World Parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise, they could at least ask for universal membership in the U. N., and abolition of the veto as well as of the permanent seats on the Council. All these issues were clearly and forcefully raised at the meeting of the Bureau. Burmese and Indonesian socialists seemed to be seized with terror at having to take a stand on these questions. They raised



stupid procedural questions. They asked for time to study. They behaved like innocent babes who had been surprised with problems they knew nothing about. Actually, they had discussed two of these issues at earlier meetings of the Bureau. This behavior also revealed their ineptitude because, as statesmen or politicians, it was their responsibility to react in time to the great events of the day.

Some explanation of these horrible affairs may be had from the close relationship between Israel and Burma that was just then developing. An exchange of air missions had taken place and an arms deal was being put through. The delegates, one of whom was Defense Minister and another the Industries Minister, were obviously not straight enough to accept avowedly from America what they were only too willing to accept through the medium of Israel. American arms that reached Burma presumably had the label "made in



Israel" stuck on them. Not enough is known about these crooked deals by the peoples of the world. Israel is the projection of America and Europe into Asia, and their handy tool.

### Men of Straw

The socialist parties of Japan and Arabia have been comparative exceptions to this trend of Asian socialists to lean heavily towards the Atlantic camp. This is not so much the result of a world outlook as of national needs. That is both its weakness and its strong point. It is a weakness insofar as the Japanese and Arabian socialists become limited in their outlook, take part in the world drama only on the national level, and do not get into a mutually interacting relationship with the healthier currents of world socialism. It is a strong point because their attitudes of limited or changing alignment, as they arise out of national needs, are not so liable to be blown away as they would be if they had been the result only of an abstract world ideology. The Japanese socialists are in addition intensely practical. They seem to have grasped well Japan's geo-political situation. They have, apart from a period when a split occurred, held fast to the tenet of neutrality between Atlantic and Soviet weapons, both of which threaten their country. Furthermore, all the Japanese post-war governments have pursued a policy of alignment with the Atlantic camp. Thus Japanese socialists were free to adopt the policy of non-alignment somewhat more fully, and at the same time to satisfy their own agitational need to obtain power.

Arabian socialists, particularly those of Syria and Lebanon, have tended to be increasingly neutral between the two camps and have even leaned, though only occasionally and strictly out of a national need, on the Soviet camp. It is inconceivable that Arabs should not want to appropriate for themselves the profits from oil that today go to foreign and native barons. This explosive issue exists everywhere in Arabia in seed, and it is only a question of time until it will burst. If it is a need of America and Britain to ally with the feudal reactionaries of Arabia, so is it a national need of Arabia to move away from a western alliance.

A further answer to the question as to why the traditional socialists of Burma, Indonesia, and India have leaned increasingly on the Atlantic camp may now be added. They are frustrated and despondent. They have frequently held high electoral hopes. But these have been dashed to the ground. India's traditional socialists hoped to capture one hundred out of five hundred seats in Parliament six years ago, but they had to be content with twenty-two, and that number was further reduced to nineteen a year ago. Indonesian socialists have fared even worse.

If they had been men of greater faith and grit, they

would have plucked certain ideological and organizational lessons out of these defeats. But they were men of straw who have looked for crutches, to the left and to the right and anywhere they could find them.

India's traditional socialists have sought and used the crutches of the Communists and the Jan Sangh in Maharashtra, the Congress and the Muslim League in Kerala, the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa, the Communists once again in Bengal, and dissident Congressmen almost everywhere. Their claim seems to be that they have opposed misrule in all states and have, therefore, welcomed such allies as came to them on the basis of a common, immediate program. There might have been some reason to consider this claim if opposition to misrule had not been restricted to the electoral field. As things are, it is a selfish pursuit for office and seats in legislatures by a bunch of despondent men.

In Burma, the Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League, which has so far been the ruling party, has split in two. Every member of parliament has recently been provided with a Sten-gun. The policy of crutches seems ultimately to lead to gangsterism. It is difficult to say whether India's traditional socialists, given the chance, would illustrate this almost universally Asian phenomenon or control themselves, out of a minimum respect for Gandhiji and humanism.

### Brainwashing and Bribery

International Communism does not strive continually to corrupt all political parties in Asia. It enslaves them through the force of the idea, which is worse. Occasionally, in periods of joint fronts, it tries to disrupt non-Communist parties. But the Atlantic camp has gradually been evolving an even more nauseating policy. Not having a specific political party of its own, it tries to impart to all of them its own character and outlook. It does so not just through propaganda. Money plays a very large part in this endeavor. The United States has brought this art to its crudest perfection. The Moral Rearmament Association has in recent months spent thousands of rupees on travel grants and the like to sections of the leadership of non-Communist parties in India. This Association claims a God who guides its members, particularly in the mornings. His guidance has proved to be mischievous. It would be most extraordinary if the American government were not aware of the activities of this Association, nor would there be any meaning in the defense that American citizens are free to act and combine for whatever purposes they like. Everybody knows that no group would be able to carry out such activities if they were contrary to the foreign policy of the American government.

The intervention of the Atlantic camp into the internal affairs of Asian lands seems recently to have been mounting. The Indonesian case has obvious criminal elements.



Nationalization of Dutch interests there has encouraged the Atlantic camp to stir up, or to assist, native rebellion. The Indian case is more pernicious, though not as obvious. The Congress for Cultural Freedom is an Atlantic organization, with American money and European leadership. Office-bearers of this Congress in India have been sponsoring the agitation for continued public use of English, thereby upholding the tyranny of a few thousand men over four hundred million. Because of such activities, the colored peoples are being driven emotionally into the Soviet camp.

But the Russians do not seem to want the friendship of freedom-loving peoples. Even as these lines were being written came the news of the execution of Hungarian patriots: Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, and their comrades. All the elements typical of French and British criminality in Algeria and Kenya have been present in this Russian criminality in Hungary, down to violation of the pledged safe passage, torture and mass slaughter.

Some Asians may hold that Hungary is far off and a European land, while what happens to the colored peoples is of more direct and immediate import to them. Such an attitude would be wrong, as much from the Asian point of view as from that of a world citizen. A new world has to be built. Its builders cannot be the addicts of the bomb or the sputnik or the beneficiaries

of imperialism. The Atlantic and the Soviet camps may from time to time, and without basic design, assist the good in varying places of the earth; they are not themselves good. The theory of equal irrelevance, i. e. the faith that the Atlantic and the Soviet camps are equally irrelevant to the building of a new humanity, must be the rock to which the mind of man fastens itself. That man would be lost who inflates passing good to such size as to prefer one camp to the other. Let the new man forever throw away both Atlantic and Soviet crutches. Let the natives of the two camps do the same. There are men in Russia, as there are in the United States. They are human, with all the greatness that man's spirit is capable of. They too must learn to stand on this rock—as some of them have already done.

An emotional involvement is not wholly avoidable, when events happen in Algeria, or in Lebanon, or in Hungary. We are men. When our emotions are aroused, there will be a tilting of the balance. An additional factor tending to influence our emotional response is the comparative freedom of the Soviet camp from imperialist privilege. And yet the mind should hold steady, and nothing should ever throw it off balance. In the course of time, emotions will attune themselves to the mind, and emotional serenity will accompany mental tranquility.

## The Brave Cowboy

Chicago

There's a remarkable 25c Pocket Book for sale at many drugstores. The cover looks just like the cover of a dozen other cowboy novels, refugees from the pulp magazines. It shows the wounded cow-puncher, bitter and defiant, pistol in one hand, gun belt in the other, sitting in a brass-postered bed; the cover has nothing to do with the book. The title gives you a very slight clue; it's *The Brave Cowboy*. (The author is Edward Abbey.) The publisher's blurbs give a few more hints. But you must read this book yourself. You'll be surprised.

It is a remarkably good novel about a man who is at once real, symbolic, legendary. His name is Burns but often enough he's referred to as The Cowboy. And that he is, the Vanishing American—the Indestructible Individualist. And he rides into town, gets himself thrown in jail in order to help spring a friend. The friend, an intellectual, has voluntarily agreed to do two years in prison because he considers conscription to be slavery. He calls himself a Jeffersonian anarchist, but says, "I have a great deal of respect for law and order and decorum. When I'm sentenced to prison I believe in serving out my term in an obedient, conscientious manner..."

Burns tries to persuade him to make the jail break with him. The intellectual more or less seriously says things

like this: "...I don't intend to fight against Authority, at least not in the open. (I may do a little underground pioneering.) When they tell us to say 'I recant everything' I'll just mumble something out of the corner of my mouth. When they tell us to stand at attention and salute I'll cross the fingers of my left hand. When they install the dictaphones—by the way, is it true that G-Man Hoover's slogan is 'Two Dictaphones in Every Home'?—and the wire-tapping apparatus and the two-way television I'll install defective fuses in the switchbox. When they ask me if I am now or ever have been an Untouchable I'll tell them that I'm just a plain old easy-going no-account Jeffersonian anarchist..." Burns can't persuade him to go...

This gives you an idea—of the kind of implications this "cowboy novel" contains. The whole thing is carefully, ingeniously worked out; believable, exciting, beautifully symbolic.

There is (or was) a Dodd, Mead hardcover edition published at \$3.75; those who cannot afford this can get a remarkable bargain by buying the 25c softcover edition. They may feel just a bit bashful about having their intellectual friends see them carry what looks exactly like any old Zane Grey novel; but there are situations where this might be an effective camouflage.

Felix Singer

# ON NONVIOLENT OBSTRUCTION

11/58  
BRADFORD LYTTLE

DURING THE SUMMER, a group of pacifists and pacifist sympathizers demonstrated against the Atlas intercontinental ballistics missile base site being constructed near Cheyenne, Wyoming. Five demonstrators were imprisoned for trespassing during demonstrations conducted at missile launching site A, the first site under construction. One of these people, Kenneth Calkins, was struck by a truck while sitting in the gateway to the site. Before being sentenced to jail, he was hospitalized for ten days.

The Cheyenne demonstrations have raised important theoretical questions concerning the use of nonviolent resistance. They have given rise to a new distinction, that of a difference between *civil disobedience*, the violation of a law in course of a nonviolent demonstration, and *nonviolent obstruction*, the nonviolent physical obstruction of actions one believes to be morally wrong. The distinction arose partly because of the peculiar physical location of the missile site at which the demonstrations took place. Site A is an enclave. The land for the site is owned by the government, and construction companies working on the site have been granted access to it by the private parties owning the surrounding territory. People wishing to demonstrate at the site therefore were compelled to pass over private land at the risk of violating a trespassing law (civil disobedience). Trucks enter the government property through gates in the surrounding fence. Some demonstrators nonviolently obstructed the passage of trucks and other equipment by standing, sitting or lying in the gateway or on the road leading to it. Such obstruction was termed nonviolent obstruction.

There was agreement among participants in the project that civil disobedience was justified and within the moral right of the demonstrators. Civil disobedience involved no obstruction and usually trespassing occurred because a demonstrator wished to exercise the democratic right of distributing leaflets or talking to construction workers.

However, differences of opinion arose regarding the use of non-violent obstruction.

The use of this technique was criticized on several main grounds. One is that obstructing the passage of equipment and harassing the construction workers, even by nonviolent methods, involves infringing upon their rights to do what they see to be their right and duty. The demonstrators believe that it is morally wrong to build missile sites. The construction workers believe that it is right—missiles are needed for national defense. Those who argue against nonviolent obstruction

say that under these circumstances demonstrators have the right to appeal verbally to the workers but no right to harass or obstruct them.

Other arguments raised against nonviolent obstruction were that the technique can be misinterpreted easily by the public, tends to support an unfavorable image of the demonstrators, and tends to create public hostility. The public, it is argued, sees the technique as obstruction only and misses the moral reasons behind it.

Let us look at these arguments more carefully:

*Infringement upon the rights of the workers.* Here is a possible hypothetical situation:

If you see a man beating a woman or child with a club, has he the moral right to continue unobstructed? Do you have no moral right nonviolently to prevent his action?

Clearly, to me, the most responsible behavior would be to use every nonviolent means at your disposal to stop the beating, even if this meant interposing your body between the attacker and his victim, and taking the blows on yourself.

This is much the situation at the missile base. The truck and equipment drivers are constructing a ghastly weapon that can cremate alive millions of innocent human beings. They may believe that they are morally right in building the base; they may need the wages they earn to support their families. Nevertheless, I can see a moral imperative for *obstructing* their work by every moral, nonviolent means available. Do not the lives of ten million men, women and children threatened by the base make nonviolent obstruction a responsible policy?

The true principle seems to me to be this: that everyone has the moral right to try and frustrate what he regards as evil by means which are not bad in themselves.

*Violation of the democratic process.* Those who use this argument have forgotten, or never read, Thoreau's essay "On Civil Disobedience". An act of a majority should never *bind* a minority. The democratic process is a valuable political technique and tradition but if the will of the majority is to do evil, it becomes the moral duty of the minority who sees what is right to oppose that will. I respect the democratic process whether or not it is in its proper place in relation to conscience and moral law. But respect for the *process* does not entail giving priority to its *results* rather than priority to conscience. In Cheyenne, a result of this process is the construction of a missile base which can cremate alive millions of innocent people.

*Generation of hostility.* An increase in immediate



public hostility should not bring panicky abandonment of a tremendously powerful educational tool.

Many pacifist leaders felt that the great hostility and misunderstanding produced in Cheyenne by the use of nonviolent obstruction was hurting the pacifist movement and should not be used. I wonder if these leaders, who wish to discard an educational technique because it produces hostility, remember, or have read, George Fox's *Journal*, or *At the Feet of the Mahatma* by Rajendra Prasad. Fox and his fellow "ministers of truth" barely survived the beatings they endured in their proselytizing. Hundreds of Indians were shot by the British in the Amritsar, Jallianwalla Bagh massacre.

Gandhi never suspended civil disobedience or discarded an educational technique because it produced hostility. He stopped only when hostility or violence crept into the action of his followers. Gandhi judged the nonviolence of his educational techniques before he employed them. He did not use a technique, then judge its nonviolence by the effect it produced.

I believe that the hostility at Cheyenne was produced by the exceptional power of the educational technique of nonviolent obstruction. At this point it seems to me valuable to explore the possible sources of this power.

Nonviolent obstruction dramatizes the importance of the issue. Most missile site construction workers probably see little more than a weekly pay check in their work. It is doubtful that they fully understand the arguments used by opponents to the base. You can dismiss a man who hands you a leaflet without taking him seriously. It is very difficult to dismiss him if he sits down before your truck. He is either crazy or motivated by something very important to him.

Nonviolent obstruction makes real to the construction workers the issues symbolized by the missile base. A construction worker and the public may regard a missile base as a new source of income for the locality, a glamorous toy (Air Force propaganda talks of "Missile Slingshot Cheyenne"). Actually, a missile can cremate alive three million people and pulverize the largest city. The realities of death are excluded from an American city, but a nonviolent resister sitting in front of a truck raises these realities to public consciousness. The truck driver finds himself faced with the choice of running over the man and killing him or stopping and dragging him out of the way. The idea of murder is not normally associated with the missile base for him. Now it is. He sees a man sitting in the dust before his truck who is silently saying to him, "Kill me before you build this missile base; kill me before you help kill a million innocent people". Nonviolent obstruction raises the moral issue of murder, the reality of death.

To a Christian or theist, nonviolent obstruction can be interpreted as an act of atonement. In this interpretation, the changes in the minds of construction

workers that would lead them to give up work on the base would be wrought by God. The resister prays: "Lord, I offer to you my life that this hideous weapon of death may not be built. I will risk death so that these construction workers and the American people in general may be redeemed from their wicked design."

*Misinterpretation of the technique.* Pacifists have long been articulate with tongue, typewriter and mimeograph. It isn't misinterpretation from which their cause suffers most; it is from not being listened to. Before nonviolent obstruction was used at Cheyenne, the project was ignored. All the releases and leaflets made little dent on public apathy. Nonviolent obstruction shattered the apathy, local and national. Many of the people of Cheyenne may have been made hostile; they were also made *aware*.

Elements of the situation are similar to those which caused the British general strike of 1929 to fail. Fenner Brockway, in his brilliant history *Inside the Left*, says that the strike failed because Britain's labor leaders did not really believe in their slogans of socialist revolution and became fearful when the immense nonviolent power of their strike brought national political power within their grasp. It would sadden me greatly to think that leaders of the pacifist movement were equally uncertain of their professed intentions, equally timid in the use of their nonviolent weapons.

One sponsor of the *Golden Rule* told me that participants in nonviolent action projects were confident that the odds heavily favored their escape without injury. I consider participation under such persuasion unrealistic and unwise. At Cheyenne, my constant admonition to demonstrators was, "If you sit in front of trucks you face death." Before Ken Calkins' injury no one seemed to agree with me.

Much of the weakness of the peace movement is due to anemia caused by too much middle-class prudence, too little imagination and resolute action. We must think and act on the assumption that we can bring about a nonviolent revolution against the tradition of military power.

## SORRY, WRONG NUMBER

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28 (AP)—A chain of errors kept a 26-year-old mother in the House of Correction for six months without a hearing, it was learned today. The woman, Mrs. Ethel Bell, was freed yesterday . . . A calculating machine operator, who should have listed Mrs. Bell as "11," the code number for a material witness, punched out "0011," the code for riotous destruction of property.

Thus Mrs. Bell was classified as a defendant awaiting trial, and was set down as an untried, undisposed of prisoner on the machine card.

New York Times





# MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DICTATORSHIP

HARRY PAXTON HOWARD

LOVERS OF PEACE are today faced with the situation of a world increasingly dominated by military groups, owing their present powerful positions to their records of "successful" war in recent decades. Lovers of freedom are today faced with the continual expansion of authoritarian government, reaching its fullest application in war-time but even in "peace-time" conscripting its subjects into the absolute authority and obedience of the military system. Lovers of life are today faced with the development of weapons fully capable of exterminating the human species, in the hands of men who have shown not the slightest respect for human lives nor responsibility in the handling of their instruments of mass murder.

For this almost world-wide system of military primacies and authoritarian government has reached its present stage *primarily* due to the United States, during the past sixty years, having abandoned the libertarian and anti-imperialist principles upon which the Republic was based, abandoned also the continental Americanism of the Monroe Doctrine, and thrown its increasing power into the balance first across the Pacific, then across the Atlantic, then across *both* oceans, and actively aided the forces of war, violence, and authoritarianism throughout the world. And the "final" weapon of human extermination, the fission bomb, is specifically an American product.

Every major war in which the United States has engaged during the past sixty years, though advertised in terms of "liberation," "making the world safe for democracy," "four freedoms," etc., has meant in reality tragic setbacks for human freedom and democracy, advances for authoritarian government, racism, and organized torture and extermination. This seems like a strong statement. And yet, let us consider soberly the actual record, as set forth in any serious diplomatic history of the United States.

Such consideration involves a certain amount of "revisionism," which Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes well defines as the "effort to correct the historical record in the light of a more complete collection of historical facts, a more

calm political atmosphere, and a more objective attitude." Furthermore, to Dr. Barnes, "it implies an honest search for historical truth and the discrediting of misleading myths that are a barrier to peace and goodwill among nations."

However, it does not *necessarily* involve this latter. Dr. Barnes himself, in his article in *LIBERATION* for August, refers to "revisionist correction" to damn "extreme anti-war Federalists" who opposed the War of 1812 against Britain. In this case, "revisionism" means rewriting history to defend the *militarists* and damn the *pacifists*. Similarly with regard to the American war of imperial aggression against Mexico to take Texas and other territories. In this case also Barnes uses the "Revisionists" as indicating those who have *defended* the "conscienceless war-mongers, impelled by political ambition, who pounced without justification upon a helpless little country." If one can defend "Mr. Madison's war" of 1812, how can one possibly oppose "Mr. Wilson's war" a century later—unless on a purely *anti-British* basis of criticism? If one can defend the expansionists of 1812 and 1846, how can one criticize those of 1898? Certainly the *pro-militarist* "revisionists" have not aided "peace and goodwill among nations."

Actually, a knowledge of the historical record is very desirable in itself, but it can be used either for good or evil purposes. A scoundrel with knowledge is far more dangerous than a scoundrel who is ignorant. President Wilson, whom Barnes quite properly damns, was the most "scholarly" president we had had since the days of the Founding Fathers. If, on the other hand, one is guided by the love of freedom, or of peace, or of humanity, the knowledge of history may be a most powerful weapon. Knowledge is "neutral" in itself. The wholly desirable thing, in Bertrand Russell's words, is "love guided by knowledge." This combination may indeed gain for us a new world. We shall never climb to a better world upon a ladder of lies. But knowledge in itself will not make men humane.

The present perilous situation, with the vast expansion of absolutism of the Communist form over most of the

Old World, and its determined aggressiveness armed now with the fission bomb, are the direct consequences of the American government's own policies. This is the historical record. And when Eisenhower or anyone else inveighs against the Communist Power, whether in Russia or in China or elsewhere, the response of any intelligent and informed person can only be: "*Well, what did you build it up for?*"

For it was American power which built up this vast Communist power, which destroyed every effective bulwark against Communist domination in most of Europe and in all of China. It was these utterly irresponsible, if not definitely treasonable, military policies which lay behind the more recent wars. The artificial partition of Korea, giving Moscow domination over the northern areas, furnished the background for the Korean war. The similar partition of Indo-China furnished the background for the war there. The American invitation to Moscow to invade Manchuria, while the American government was destroying every effective bulwark against Communist power further south—with the fatuous attempt to establish the rule of our "Uncle Tom" Chiang Kai-shek over the entire country—led directly to the present war situation in that area.

### Atomic Murder

This situation, however, has been made far more serious by the development of atomic war—the atomic bomb itself, and all the further developments of this frightful instrument of mass murder. It is this, indeed, which imperils the very existence of the human race today. We deeply hope that the men who control things in Washington and Moscow will have enough good sense not to destroy one another—and the rest of us. We hope so. But we cannot depend upon it. *For they have given no evidence whatsoever, at any time during the past quarter of a century, that they possess this kind of good sense.*

The foregoing may be termed a "revisionist" presentation of recent history. But it may be noted that it differs in some important ways from the presentation given by my friend Harry Elmer Barnes in *LIBERATION* for August. For I have stressed the historical consequences of certain American policies, and their meaning in relation to the present perilous situation. These present consequences, to me, are of first interest. And this remains true *however we were gotten into the overseas wars of the present century.*

It is important to bear in mind that even during the war period, when all our official propagandists added their voices to those of the Communists themselves in acclaiming Moscow as "our ally," they lied. For even from a specific war viewpoint, Moscow was never *our* ally. On the contrary, we were *Moscow's* ally: a quite different thing. For it was we who saved the Moscow

regime from destruction, who actively aided the Communists to gain domination over half of Europe and Asia.

For however the job was done in 1917 and 1941, the American government decided the outcome of the war and the nature of the "settlement." Wilson offered terms for German surrender; Roosevelt reversed this, and demanded "unconditional surrender." Wilson joined in armed intervention and invasion of Soviet Russia; Roosevelt reversed this, and sent American forces to *destroy* Hitler's armed intervention and invasion of Soviet Russia. Wilson preferred Japan as an ally; Roosevelt preferred Japan as an enemy. Wilson ended his war in November 1918, and got thoroughly licked in the Congressional elections that month. Roosevelt kept his war going, and was elected to his Fourth Term.

I bring forth these historical items, most of them not touched at all in Dr. Barnes' study, because of their burning importance to us today. For some wars are fought and finished, and the people lick their wounds and go back to work, and things are much the same as before. But some wars are led by rulers so senseless and so irresponsible that their outward "victory" may leave them in a position of more terrible danger than when they launched their stupid conflict. Thus the historian Dr. Bemis (no revisionist) notes correctly that we "won" the 1941-1945 war (which he still supports) only to face "the second even greater menace of another totalitarian power!"

### Reversing the Course of History

One of Dr. Barnes' notable omissions is reference to the *reversal* of all our previous history and previous policies by our overseas adventures during the past sixty years. For however brutal and predatory our wars against the native Indians, and against the Mexicans (though Dr. Barnes considers the latter "arrogant, defiant, and provoking"—which presumably we weren't), the territory so gained became part of the United States, was not ruled as a colony, and did not involve us in the conflicts of overseas empires. The Monroe Doctrine (which Dr. Barnes does not mention) was based upon the "fundamental difference" between the "European system" and our own, and informed the European governments that in their own conflicts, so far as they concerned Europe, "we have not intervened and shall not intervene." Wilson reversed this Doctrine a century later, with most tragic results both for Europe and for ourselves.

The first great reversal, however, was in 1898, when the American government seized the Philippines and became a Far Eastern Empire—in direct imitation of the European "system of empire" which he had specifically rejected in 1776, and rejected for the entire American continent by the Doctrine of Monroe. We do not



know to this day who blew up the battleship Maine, but everyone knew that our government launched a ferocious war of repression and torture against liberty-loving Filipinos—a four-year war, against a people whose only crime was that they wanted liberty and the Rights of Man, and whom even Teddy Roosevelt did not accuse of blowing up the Maine. We became a Far Eastern Empire, and participated enthusiastically in the sack of Peking and the butchery of at least a hundred thousand Chinese civilians there at the close of the century. Long before the end of the century the lynching of “heathen Chinks” was as common and as popular in the West as lynchings of Negroes was in the South, but with our participation in the Boxer Expedition we made it “official”—and of wholly unprecedented dimensions.

But the real turning-point for freedom and democracy in the world came in 1917. Five years previously, the Chinese people had overthrown their age-old Imperial absolutism and proclaimed a Republic; this was still functioning in March 1917, when the neighboring Russian peoples threw off the shackles of Czarist absolutism and also proclaimed a Republic. From the Baltic to the Pacific, for the first and the only time in history, a third of the human race was rising to the heritage of freedom.

But Wilson and his war brought tragedy. First victim was the Chinese Republic, still neutral in the European war. The Republic was overthrown, Parliament was forcibly dissolved by Allied-supported militarists, specifically because it refused to join the Allies—now strengthened by Wilson—in war against Germany. An Allied-backed military dictatorship took over in Peking; the Republic was dead. In neighboring Russia, where a free people wanted peace and an end of the Czarist regime's war, they were faced with the monstrous fact of Wilson's taking the United States into war *to substitute for the Czarist regime!* It was specifically Wilson's influence, and the entrance of the American government into the war, that induced Kerensky and his Provisional Government to try to keep the war-exhausted Russian peoples in Czar Nicholas' war. This was the specific situation which enabled the Communists, with their mendacious cry of “Peace!”, to seize power and destroy the Republic.

Barnes does not mention these tragic consequences of the Wilsonian policies, but they were even more important than the war itself. For America went back to peace, but Russia and China never went back to democracy. In these vast territories, stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific, the defeat was *permanent*. The people toiled and suffered under dictatorial rulers even more brutal and inhuman than the earlier despotisms. And most of Europe “proper” was Balkanized, with millions of Germans turned over to alien rule and with vast other injustices to Germany which paved the way for Hitler.

Here, indeed, was a great turning point in history—a

point which Barnes does not mention. The point when the growth of freedom and democracy, in one country after another throughout the world, had come to embrace an actual majority of the human race. The point when the terrible turn was made which brought a third of the human race back to subjection again, with Russia the center of a totalitarian absolutism determined to shape the rest of the world in its own evil image.

American entry into the war not only spelled the doom of the Chinese and Russian Republics. American policy also ended the hope of any long peace for Europe. It is important to remember that there had not been anything like a World War for an entire century. The peace of 1815, which brought to an end the long period of war, was made by governments which were seriously fed up with war, which really wanted peace, which exercised the statesmanship to prevent any early repetition. From 1815 to 1914 there was no *general* war in Europe, nor even a *long* war. From 1871 to 1914, indeed—a period of 43 years—there was no major war at all on the continent.

Had peace been made in the summer of 1917—made by Europeans themselves, without the intervention of an American “crusader,”—not only would the Russian Republic have survived, the peace also might have been an enduring one. But in 1918 it was American power which determined the outcome of the war, and it was on Wilson's ambiguous “points” that Germany surrendered. For the same reason, Poincaré and his associates Balkanized Europe and trampled upon the Germans in the belief that American support could be further depended upon. It was specifically American intervention and American “policies” which insured that the peace of 1918 would not be a “long peace” like that made by Europeans themselves in 1815.

The *Versailles Diktat* itself contained the seeds of the next war, so far as Europe was concerned. And at no time did Wilson's successors do anything to remove the festering injustices for which Wilsonian intervention had been responsible. When Roosevelt took us into war, it was to take up the “*unfinished tasks*” of the Wilson War—to multiply many times over the evil Wilson had done. The earlier war had made possible the establishment of Communist absolutism over one-sixth of the earth. The Roosevelt War aided the *expansion* of Communism into Central Europe and eastward to the China Sea.

And beyond these things there was something terribly new—the launching of *atomic* War.

Every effect of the Roosevelt War contained the seeds of further war. We have already had one in Korea—and President Truman did not even bother to ask Congress for a declaration. We can have another one any time the warlords of Washington so decide.

This next time it may be atomic war. We invented it.



# NOT SO LONG AGO

Autobiography: Part 12

## Early Days at Brookwood

A. J. MUSTE



IN THE SPRING of 1921 a conference took place at an estate near Katonah, New York in northern Westchester County, 42 miles from Grand Central Station as the legend on the N. Y. Central station in the village pointed out. I attended as semi-official delegate of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America of which I was still General Secretary.

There were other trade unionists present or in close touch with the conference group. Of these James H. Maurer, then, and for a number of years following, the President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, was both the most outstanding and the most typical of the group. Miss Franca Cohn, for many years Educational Director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Abraham Lefkowitz, a leader of the American Federation of Teachers which was then in its hectic infancy, were other prominent figures among the trade union officials who took an active part in the support and direction of Brookwood Labor College. Lefkowitz managed to be a pretty militant unionist and a vigorous and persistent critic of the N. Y. City Public School system and, at the same time, by outstanding qualities as a teacher and administrator rising to become the principal of one of the city's finest high schools.

Some of Brookwood's labor union supporters were, like Maurer himself, active in the Socialist Party. All had something of a socialist background and would be classified as socialists with a small "s". They were, however, first of all labor union people who had come out of the ranks of workers and were concerned to press union organization and to carry on the day to day struggle for improved working conditions, shorter hours, better wages, and status in the mill, mine or school room. From this standpoint, they were "practical", "down to earth". Most of them, as I recall, indulged in the habit of broadcasting this fact to all and sundry.

At the same time, they were militants, severe critics of the narrow craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor, and visionaries who believed we needed a new social order. They contended that the workers would never solve their basic problems unless they strove for a radical reorganization of society, and that such a reorganization was possible. Though they held offices in

unions, they were not at all typical bureaucrats. Except for some of the A. F. of L. craft unions, such as those in the building trades, their unions were not institutionalized and did not have substantial treasuries. The unions were in process of ferment and growth. There was no big gap between the officials and the rank and file membership.

Above all, the men and women I am talking about and with whom I worked closely for a decade or more at Brookwood, in the general field of workers education, and in various phases of labor organization and strike activity, were people of integrity. They had their shortcomings, in a few cases distressing or irritating ones, but they were solid and clean, incapable of playing cheap politics, though by no means political babes or bunglers. In the circumstances of that time when organizing workers in unions was regarded as extreme radicalism and was fought bitterly by employers, police and other agencies, these people were engaged in continuous conflict and frequently encountered defeat and frustration; nevertheless they remained personally unembittered and wholesome. Partly because of the kind of people they were and largely because the Communist Party, which was struggling to be born in those days, pursued for the most part an erratic and divisive policy in the unions, the trade unionists I am writing about, though temperamentally militant and radical, were none of them drawn into the Communist movement in the turbulent Twenties and Thirties.

They came to the conference at Brookwood in the spring of 1921, or became involved in the project shortly afterwards, because they had a passionate interest in workers' education. In some this grew out of their own consciousness of having had inadequate schooling and of being handicapped by that both in their union activity and in their personal intellectual lives. The younger strike leaders and trade unionists to whom they looked to back them up in local unions and on shop or pit committees, children of working-class families, had for the most part been compelled to go to work on graduation from the eighth grade, if not before. Quite a few of the latter were recent immigrants or the children of recent immigrants, and accordingly had language

difficulties. There were practically no facilities in those days, even in the big cities, not to mention the steel or coal towns, where young adults could supplement their curtailed school training.

### A Philosophy of Labor

But it was not only or even chiefly this situation which led progressive unionists to explore the possibilities of workers' education. They wanted the more capable younger unionists to learn about many things in an atmosphere which was friendly and not hostile to unionism. They wanted them to have a picture of the human struggle through the ages, some concept of the working of the economic system, a life-philosophy which integrated satisfaction of basic psychological needs with devotion to the cause of a new social order and with practical, and if need be sacrificial and risky, daily work for such a new order in working-class districts throughout the country. Thirdly, the pioneers in workers education wanted young workers to acquire what we now call "know-how" in certain fields: how to keep minutes and write resolutions; how to conduct a meeting; how to organize a strike, provide relief, secure fair publicity for the cause, and so on.

These pioneers were well aware that if you educated people, taught them to think critically, they would presently be criticising unions and union officials too. But the progressive unionists of that period were themselves virulent critics of many A. F. of L. policies and were glad to get recruits for the critical ranks. Moreover, as I have mentioned, they were not "bureaucrats", with settled jobs in well-to-do and institutionalized unions and consequently not inordinately afraid of criticism directed against themselves. It may be added that they were not anti-eggheads. On the other hand, they did not want the students who attended local classes or came to Brookwood for resident study to become professionals or intellectuals. They wanted them to go back to the shop or mine, to be active in local unions, perhaps, in time, to be elected to higher union offices but to "remain in the struggle"—not to acquire an itch to get on the pay-roll—to retain a fighting edge and a dynamic idealism.

Another type involved in the founding and development of Brookwood were professional people or intellectuals who were also pioneers in their way. They were path breakers, for one thing, of the adult education movement which in a relatively short time burgeoned in connection with public school systems, the universities and colleges, in the form of extension systems, schools of "general studies" etc., and in all kinds of voluntary private associations, as well as in some of the more forward looking unions. The Socialist Party, which was a vigorous and growing force in the decade and a half before the outbreak of World War I, did carry on

adult or workers education on a considerable scale and the Rand School of Social Sciences was a flourishing enterprise in that period. There was, however, no such elaborate development of Marxist and other "social science" classes and varied cultural activities in connection with the young Socialist movement here as was the case on the continent of Europe and to a considerable extent in Great Britain. In the United States, in general the traditional concept of education prevailed; namely that one went to school for a longer or shorter period in order to "prepare for life", which meant for the job associated with one's "station in life" and then one proceeded to live and, by definition, "schooling" was behind one. This tended to be true even in the case of professional people and teachers, but especially of people in other categories. This attitude toward "schooling", which was taken over from the medieval and European tradition, was confirmed in this country until the period of World War I by the exigencies of frontier life. Frontier living was democratic and there was accordingly a strong determination that *everybody* should have some schooling; but equally the time for that was short and after that everybody had to get to work. In the new period adult education became part of the American scene.

The social scientists who shared in building Brookwood were also distinguished by the fact that they recognized the role of labor organization in American life, believed that this role was fraught with potentiality for good in the adjustment of democratic ideas to a society moving from the pioneer into the industrial era, and wanted to contribute to the growth of unionism and the interpretation of its role to the general public, the intellectual community and the press. The most important beginning of this relation between social scientists and labor unions had been made by John R. Commons in the Economics Department at the University of Wisconsin. Either as students under Commons, as research assistants or fellow-teachers, or in more indirect ways, most of the professional people actively interested in Brookwood and other early workers education developments had been substantially influenced by Commons.

World War I marked, of course, the first break of this nation out of its isolationism and initiated a kind of "return" to Europe. It served in turn to develop new contacts with Europe on the part of American unionists and intellectuals. These contacts for obvious reasons were more numerous and close with Great Britain than with continental European peoples. Such early supporters of Brookwood as Arthur Gleason, a researcher and exceptionally able writer, and Walton H. Hamilton, then at Amherst in what soon came to be known as the Meiklejohn era and who went on to a very distinguished career as an economist at Brookings Institute and Yale, had to come to know and be greatly influenced by such



pro-labor British intellectuals as R. H. Tawney. They had also seen Ruskin College, a resident labor school situated at Oxford, and the more radical London Labour College, as well as some of the local labor education enterprises sponsored and nurtured by the Workers Education Association with which the scholarly and greatly beloved Bishop Charles Gore had cooperated and which in the twenties had the famous Archbishop William Temple as its chairman.

Men like Gleason and Hamilton were ready to give counsel and enthusiastic backing to any similar ventures in the United States. It may be mentioned at this point that such men were not dogmatic Marxists but neither were they dogmatic anti-Marxists. They did not have a concept of "objectivity" or "neutrality" in education, which would have made them shy away from an educational venture which was oriented toward the labor movement, which felt indeed itself a part of it, and which was dedicated to changing the status quo rather than conforming to it. At the same time they wanted the work in such an institution to maintain high educational standards and to proceed in the spirit of intellectual integrity and inquiry, not of dogmatism. This was an approach with which the trade unionists of whom I wrote earlier were in hearty agreement. It was the approach which we sought to maintain at Brookwood and I think we succeeded rather remarkably in doing so.

### **Lack of Trade-Union Support**

Obviously neither the American Federation of Labor nor most of the unions of 1921 had more than a superficial, if any, interest in such experiments. When they got under way the A. F. of L. officials were profoundly suspicious. The few unions which had some interest, in a few cases a very real one, were in industries such as textiles, clothing, mining or steel, where unions had tough going or had been unable to establish a foothold at all.

There had to be some people to bring the unionists and the pro-labor social scientists together and to provide working capital, if a resident labor college was to get going in the United States. Four persons, two couples, then lived at the estate known as Brookwood and were hosts to the conference I referred to in the opening sentence of this chapter. One couple, as I have previously mentioned, were William and Helen Fincke, both pacifists and members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, then a little over five years old. Bill or "Dad" Fincke, as he was known to the students at the progressive school they had launched at Brookwood a couple years previously, was a Presbyterian minister who had been briefly the Director of the Presbyterian Labor Temple in New York.

The Finckes had been joined during the 1920-21 school year by another couple, M. Toscan Bennett and

his wife, Josephine. Toscan Bennett had been a successful corporation lawyer in Hartford, Conn. and a founder of a Labor Party in that state. Josephine had been one of the militants in the women's suffrage movement along with her neighbor in Hartford, a Mrs. Hepburn, mother of Katherine who a few years later became a famous actress. Common interest in education, as well as other causes, brought the Finckes and Bennetts together. The conference which led to the founding of Brookwood Labor College was called after the two couples had concluded, largely, I surmise, at the instigation of the Bennetts, that a school which would serve the labor movement more directly than the progressive prep school which the Finckes had headed was desirable and might be feasible.

The 1921 conference of trade unionists and educators decided to found a resident labor college and authorized the Finckes and Bennetts to serve as an organizing committee assured of full moral support. Among other things they were instructed to secure an educational director.

A week or so later the Finckes came to see me and implored me to take the post. It did not take me long to make up my mind. The situation in the textile industry and in the A. T. W. of A. itself was not one which promised growth. I had never intended to become a labor official. I believed that my background, training, and so-called talents were such as to enable me to be much more useful in a workers education venture than in the textile union post.

Early in the summer our family moved out of a New York apartment to a cottage on a low hill on the 42 acre estate at Brookwood, an idyllic place to bring up children. The family included two girls, one about 5 years old, the other three years younger.

The Finckes, Bennetts and Mustes set about producing promotional literature, devising a curriculum, looking for teachers. Before school opened late in September, the Finckes had moved to a house a few miles away as a result of personality conflicts with the Bennetts, though they continued their support of the school and the most devoted support of the Mustes. A few weeks after school opened in September, Josephine Bennett left Toscan and went abroad. Toscan was in no position to contribute much to the functioning of the school. At the time these were heavy blows. In retrospect one may venture the opinion that it was an advantage to have the situation clarified early rather than late and to be given the opportunity to shape, in so far as any one individual ever can shape, an enterprise to which I was deeply committed. In any event, there was steady support from the educators and unionists who had helped to launch the school and from the unforgettable first class that registered in September 1921.

*To be continued in next issue.*



# Sex, Community & History

New York

Dear Editors:

I dislike to disagree sharply with A. J. Muste, of whom I have an affectionate idea, though I do not know him personally. But his critique of "intentional community" in your September issue misses the middle of the target in a most disheartening way.

Speaking of Brookwood, he says, "A sense of spiritual comradeship existed which is felt to this day [more than thirty years later] by dozens of the old graduates." There you have it! Doesn't this strike him as intensely significant? It is not unusual, it is the kind of under-the-skin intimacy that develops among any group that lives and eats together day by day, whether soldiers, or collegians at school, or kids at a summer-camp; yet if in this intimacy there is taken for granted also an excellent common purpose and a shared ethics that makes for living well, what further justification is required? We have a good in itself.

Let me simply repeat Coleridge's complaint against the economist who had said that certain self-sufficient rural villages were valueless because they did not add to the national trade—"What!" cried Coleridge, "is not the existence of 500 Christian souls of value?"

Instead of seeing it this way, Muste says, "If we profess to conceive of mankind as a family which should live as a family, then our only valid objective is the transformation of society, not the building of a shelter for saints or a secular elite within a corrupt social order, which is in effect assumed to be beyond redemption." This is needlessly sarcastic. For cannot we conceive that the persons of the community may not regard themselves as saintly or elite in any way, but simply as making a wiser choice how to get the most richness out of daily life, whether happiness or grief, by being face to face rather than scurrying about looking for brief human contacts in political relations that are pretty abstract? The others are not "beyond redemption" but simply unavailable to a close enough acquaintance to know what really *you* can do for them. You cannot love everybody, but only your neighbor. You can know *him* only vaguely. I am afraid that on Muste's principle of loving "all the children of God", we come to loving nobody at all, with a good deal of fanatical benevolence expended on secondary issues like wages-and-hours rather than bread and vocation. Then, when Muste says "one other consideration which has kept me . . . from community life is that the impulse which draws a good many in that direction is an ascetic one which I do not share," I wonder whether just the contrary is not the case: that the impulse toward community is a profoundly pleasurable one, on the level of animal touch and so-called infantile security, whereas the drive toward universal welfare and so-called realism is an ascetic resignation of the struggle to be here-and-now happy.

What is the relation of the community and the rest of society? Muste attacks "the justification of an intentional community as . . . a model of how society should, and eventually might, be organized." But such a justification, I submit, would occur only to an admiring outsider, as we praise the *kvutza* for inventing the right upbringing of children and say we can learn from that in America. But in the community itself, they are solving a problem of living together; and it is just because they can draw on their face-to-face

contact, and therefore are able to argue out of their morals as they go along, that they are able to change them and invent something new. They are not a model according to an *a priori* scheme, but a physical cause drawing on powerful social energy.

Conversely, a community is impinged on by the outside, economically and, more importantly, culturally: the cultural attractions of the big world make the community seem insipid and limited, especially to its growing young who have not tasted the dregs. This impingement is not by choice or plan, it is just a fact, and it is a fortunate fact. For once a community has established itself, it is this "outside" that provides the real problems that the group must cope with. It must raise its standard of life to compete (though not necessarily its standard of living); it must find a deeper meaning in itself, and in service to the "outside", to make it worthwhile to continue. Just think of it: if a free community, uncoerced by force or superstitious fear and repression, can in fact maintain itself as worthwhile against the general culture, do you think it will not have unearthed treasures, that it will not have invented a style?

Paul Goodman

Paul Goodman was a member of one of the offshoots of Brookwood, the Manumit Progressive School, and found it a most worthwhile semi-intentional semi-community, until they bounced him for his misdemeanors.

Chicago

Dear Editors:

LIBERATION stimulates all sorts of reactions, good and bad, seldom indifferent. This is the goal of any good magazine—to get the reader "shook up." So, HATS OFF to you!

Some of your contributors are pretty seriously, if not pathologically, "shook up," also. I refer in one instance to Harry Elmer Barnes in the Summer issue on what he calls Revisionism. I do not quarrel with his thesis—that written history is usually far from the truth—but to his deeply emotional approach to the subject, which, of course, in itself, would remove him from being a good historian. With glazed eyes he tells us things we have known since the world began (and which on the international level, world historians are soberly discussing together). It is good to have these things repeated but the sound of his grinding axe drowns out his words. Reginald Reynolds, in the Oct. issue, expresses my reactions to a T.

Some of your other contributors are all "shook up" over sex. I refer to Granat, Dellinger, and Lund. Of course, sex does shake one up. I assume from their writings that these people don't have a very satisfactory sex life, and are sublimating, or trying to experience *katharsis*, through writing about it. For instance, Lund writes lengthily about Ibsen and Shelley. She should be told that the fabric of all great novels, plays, poetry, operas, symphonies, paintings, etc., is human relationships—love, sex, family, personality. Would she regularize these imponderables? Dellinger's preoccupation with the sex life of Jesus and Gandhi amazes me. I wonder if these writers, who appear to be "wounded in their sex," to use Lund's term, aren't more interested in this subject than are the readers of LIBERATION.

Now, what shook ME up, among other stories, was David Thoreau Wieck's "Report from Little Rock." His analysis is the best I have read, and his understanding and perception are such that I have copied out some sections for quoting. A. J. Muste is always great (except his autobiography, which doesn't do justice to his writing ability or his tremendous life). Brown's "Notes on Moscow University" is very informative. McCrackin's "They Took the Body" is powerful. Everyone in the United States should read it. Poetry is good, sharp. These are some of my reactions.

Irene M. Koch

White Plains, N. Y.

Dear Editors:

Dave Dellinger's article "Not Enough Love" is superb! Excellent writing; fine theme; beautiful logic.

Elinor Gene Hoffman

New York

I agree with Dave Dellinger and William Robert Miller that it may be desirable to enjoy sensual delight *but* to be capable of giving it up when something more fundamental is at stake. However, if there are those who can and do choose asceticism for themselves so that they can become more *dedicated*—by *dedicated* I *do not* mean subtly authoritarian—they too are deserving of respect; and it is not for us who do not join them in a fundamental asceticism to pronounce as to whether *they* are alive or "half-alive".

I believe that the strength of pacifism today is vitally impaired by the authoritarian ascetics who are often its most vocal spokesmen. But it is my conviction that the greatest harm is not done by asceticism in regard to sex or food (people will go on enjoying their sex, food, and drink, ignore your damning them in these matters, and *still* listen to, and think about, the pacifist point of view on violence, war and peace); rather, the pacifist movement today is crippled by asceticism with regard to *anger* and the *expression* of anger.

Does it not sometimes happen that our only choice is to sink into despair—into a state where we are spiritually *whipped*, unless we let the anger surge through us, and *potently* emerge?

Can pacifism ever be effective in America and Europe unless we pacifists clearly and unmistakably proclaim that it is not a *sin* to be angry, nor a *sin* to express anger, nor—in a word—a sin to be human?

It is very laudable that *LIBERATION* is opening its columns to a discussion of Revisionism and its implications. But for such a step to be taken by a magazine with (I believe) a relatively small circulation is, perhaps, not enough.

I hope that *LIBERATION* will open its pages not only to discussion of Revisionism and its implications, but also, and perhaps even more important, to a discussion of the central question of modern censorship and how we answer it.

Samuel Olanoff

Hackensack, N. J.

Dear Editors:

There are no words to express my gratitude for your magazine—it is terrific.

I'm engaged in a private campaign to swell your circulation and—I hope, your coffers. So will you please send me, by return mail, 3 copies of the Summer 1958 issue—that monumental issue . . . *LIBERATION must* continue and I'll do my best to help!

Mrs. J. A. Mock

Philadelphia

Dear Editors:

My reactions to *LIBERATION* are:

1) A good constructive magazine. Which means to me: it presents radical and varied thinking about world problems and what to do about them. Its experimental quality is refreshing. From the sex life of a radical to Revisionism, it keeps shifting its point of view or focus.

2) Too much of a descriptive magazine. Like other magazines, no matter what their viewpoint, it keeps the reader informed about areas (Little Rock, India, Russia, etc.) pretty far removed from his own life.

3) Could be more of a forum for "what is the good life in our era?" Could have more ethical edge and direction. The "Tract for the Times", the Dellinger-Mayer exchange, the sex vs asceticism debate, and the issue on communities, perhaps come closest to an exchange of views on how we ought to live. Pacifists agree on "no war", and most radical pacifists on "peace walks", but what of the real basis for a new individual and group life? The specific action projects and the bringing of ever new political reactions to current events should not obscure this search for truth—personal, livable truth.

John Corry

Sheboygan, Wisconsin

Dear Editors:

The article, *Revisionism* by Reginald Reynolds, got me out of bed tonight, from thinking about it, into writing.

We pacifists have all been asking ourselves just about the same question. And, for experts on the subject, I am sorry I have to recommend the military. They have made a real study of Mrs. Brown, what makes her tick and kick and, finally, submit. They have no pretty illusions about her. She is vain, materialistic, jealous, ambitious, and many other ugly things. But she wishes to appear kind, generous, unselfish, and numerous lovely things. So she is always scared—scared she will be found out here, or in another world. Therefore, knowing Mrs. Brown so well, it is easy to manipulate her (and her husband, and her children, all of whom follow the same pattern of her human behavior). She can be controlled with material wealth and the power that always goes with it.

Now why should Mrs. Brown listen to Mr. Reynolds? What has he got that interests her? She has been trying to keep God locked up in a church, just so He will not bother her. Why should she let in this Sir Reginald when he is but a poor knight in quest of the Holy Grail?

Ernestine W. Brehmer

New York

Dear Editors:

In the 7th line of my "Villanelle on a Theme of Clare Boothe Luce" (*LIBERATION*, Oct., 1958, p. 15) the word "Wrangler" is a misprint for the word "Wangler". A "wangler", according to Eric Partridge's *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (p. 937), is "one who wangles"; and "to wangle" is to "arrange to suit oneself; contrive or obtain with sly cunning, insidiously or illicitly; to manipulate, to 'fake' ". By calling FDR the "Wangler" I meant that he did just this. The misprint "Wrangler" has me designating him merely as one who "disputes angrily, brawls, argues, or debates", according to Webster.

Best wishes to *LIBERATION* and hopes for more good issues.

Jackson Mac Low

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